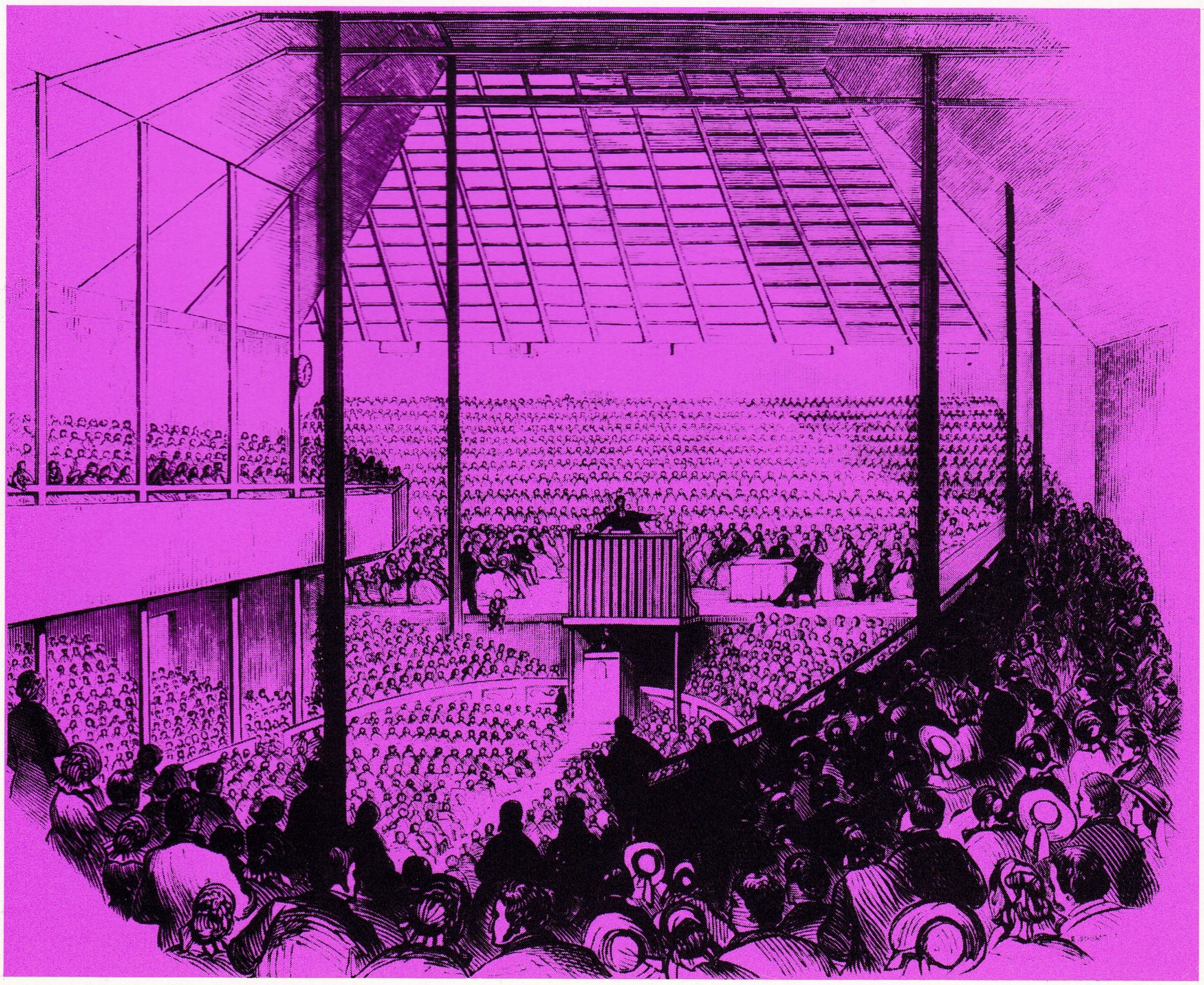
The Portsmouth Papers

37

Published by Portsmouth City Council
Civic Offices
Guildhall Square
Portsmouth PO1 2AL

No. 37 January 1983
Price 75p

The Anglican Revival in Victorian Portsmouth



© Nigel Yates
City of Portsmouth 1983

The PORTSMOUTH PAPERS *are published under the auspices of the Libraries, Museums and Arts Historical Publications Sub-Committee of the Portsmouth City Council, Civic Offices, Guildhall Square, Portsmouth, PO1 2AL*

Issue Number 37 January 1983

ISBN 0 901559 47 4

Portsmouth Papers Advisory Panel
COUNCILLOR JOHN S. MARSHALL *(Chairman)*
COUNCILLOR F. A. J. EMERY-WALLIS, FSA
R. C. RILEY, BSc(Econ), PhD
J. R. STURGES, DPA, JP
J. H. THOMAS, BA, PhD
J. WEBB, MA, FRHistS
E. COURSE, BSc(Econ), PhD, FCIT *(General Editor)*
G. F. TUCKER, ARCA, ASTD *(Design and Typography)*

Cover:
The Sunday evening service at the Circus Church, Portsmouth, from John Knapp, THE CHURCH IN THE CIRCUS, *London 1858.*

Printed by Eyre & Spottiswoode Limited at Grosvenor Press Portsmouth

THE ANGLICAN REVIVAL IN VICTORIAN PORTSMOUTH

Nigel Yates, MA, FRHistS

'It is not that the Church of God has lost the great towns; it has never had them', wrote an eminent Anglican churchman and future bishop of London in the last decade of the nineteenth century.[1] By 'Church of God' he really meant the Church of England. Most of his contemporaries would have concurred with this pessimistic viewpoint. And the view has been re-echoed by several modern commentators,[2] though in recent years a shift away from this position has occurred and a more encouraging picture painted of the efforts made by Victorian Anglicans to cope with the spiritual needs of urban society.[3] In some towns these efforts were remarkably successful, and perhaps none more so than in Portsmouth, where the evidence of religious censuses in 1851 and 1881 points firmly to a remarkable recovery by the Church of England, partly at the expense of non conformity, but clearly also making some inroads into the substantial pockets of religious apathy that existed in all Victorian towns.[4] What is particularly interesting about Portsmouth's Anglican revival is that it involved significant local examples of the main agents of that revival nationally: zealous Evangelicals, devout Anglo-Catholics and those hard-working organisers whose parishes became the models for Anglican urban mission in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. And what is also interesting is how much these different agents had in common. Historians of the Victorian church and Victorian churchmen themselves have been at such pains to point out the divergencies between the different brands of Anglican churchmanship, and the conflict that existed between the extremes of 'high' and 'low', that they have failed to see that men of very different theological viewpoints were attempting to deal with the same pastoral situation along very similar lines. This paper seeks both to chronicle and to explain these developments in Portsmouth.

Church Extension

The fundamental problem for the progressive Victorian churchman was that there were far too few churches, and even fewer parishes, in the growing urban areas. The administrative machinery of the Church of England, barely affected by the religious upheavals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was still essentially that created in the medieval period, and reform was hampered by the vested interests of patrons and incumbents. Before 1843 the creation of a new ecclesiastical district required a special Act of Parliament, and even afterwards the creation of new parishes required the consent of those affected by the proposed changes. New churches could only be erected either through the efforts of private subscribers or, after 1820, with the assistance of parliamentary grants, and they could only be effectively maintained through a system of pew rents which turned them into middle-class preaching houses. Constitutionally they were merely chapels to the existing parish churches, the incumbents of which retained full responsibility for all pastoral administration and for the performance of the occasional offices of baptism, marriage and burial. In Portsmouth the ancient parish of Portsea acquired four such chapels between 1750 and 1830, but none obtained separate ecclesiastical districts until 1838.[5] Indeed between 1818 and 1838 the two ancient parishes of Portsmouth and Portsea were actually held in plurality by Charles Brune Henville, an incredibly late example of two large urban parishes being in the sole charge of one incumbent, even though he was an extremely industrious one.

The poor provision of Anglican ecclesiastical accommodation and pastoral care in Portsmouth greatly concerned the new Evangelical archdeacon of Winchester and future bishop of Rochester, Joseph Wigram, who determined that something must be done. But his enthusiasm was not shared by Henville's lethargic former curate, and his successor as vicar of Portsea (though not of Portsmouth), J. V. Stewart. And Stewart lived until 1878, dying as vicar of Portsea at the age of 85. Wigram began by collecting as much evidence as he could about the spiritual condition of Portsea.[6] The parish church of St. Mary had been 'rebuilt by voluntary subscription, public grants, and the aid of Winchester College, as patrons, in 1844; population about 5,000. Has 1,300 seats . . . a small proportion open to the poor'. All Saints, Landport, built by parliamentary grant in 1828, had a population of 13,000 and 1,600 sittings of which 1,100 were free. There were only 130 communicants. St. Paul's, Southsea, built by parliamentary grant in 1823, had a population of 16,000 and 1,600 sittings of which 900 were free; there were 100 communicants. St. James, Milton, was built in 1841, 'by voluntary subscription and public grants. Population above 1,400. The district around the Church is entirely agricultural. 300 sittings, of which 190 are open to the poor. Communicants 18'. Within the walls of the town of Portsea there were three churches, the eighteenth-century chapels of St. George and St. John, and the church of Holy Trinity, opened in 1841. Trinity had a district of 7,000 people, sittings for 1,200 of which 700 were free, and 60 communicants. Both St. George's and St. John's operated under restrictive acts. St. George's had no district; 'no pastoral charge is allowed by the Act, by which certain strange restraints are imposed for the supposed protection of the Parish Church, e.g. no service allowed on Easter Day'. There were 'seats for 1,000, a few of them, in the passages being free . . . Communicants 75'. St. John's had a district of 6,000 people and 'seats for about 1,700, of which 200, in the passages and worst parts, are open to the poor. It is debarred by its Act from marrying, and obliged to demand

double fees for baptisms and christenings one half being secured to the Vicar of Portsea'. But it did have 340 communicants, a witness to its powerful Evangelical ministry. Looked at together the seven Anglican churches in Portsea, catering for a population of some 50,000, could only provide sittings for some 8,700 people, of which only between 3,000 and 3,500 were free and therefore available to the poor. In the whole of Portsea there were only about 700 Anglican communicants, though many more would have attended services, and Anglican schools could only accommodate about 2,000 children. The seven churches were served by a total of only ten clergymen, St. Mary's, St. John's and All Saints' having the luxury of an assistant curate each. Only the incumbents of St. Mary's, St. George's and St. John's were provided with a parsonage house. What particularly shocked the archdeacon was the calculation that, although the Church of England could only find accommodation for under 9,000 people in its churches, with other denominations providing just over 3,000 sittings, there were in Portsea '360 beer shops and 296 public houses . . . with accommodation for 24,000 people . . . intemperance to religion in the proportion of two to one'. In language as vehement as anything written by Robert Dolling forty to fifty years later, Wigram fulminated against the situation in Portsea:

> 'The working classes and the poor superabound, and under circumstances unhappily calculated to produce the greatest moral evils. The want of due pastoral influence and restraint among them is appalling. The ordinary vices connected with garrison and seaport towns grievously prevail. They are aggravated, on the one hand, by the cheerless isolation and want of sympathy in which those who retain their feelings of piety are left, and on the other, by the baneful combination of self-willed men influencing for evil the great bodies of mechanics who are drawn together for the public works. Socialism, profaneness, scepticism, are the natural results of evil men who hear so little of truth concerning ALMIGHTY GOD . . .'.
>
> 'Nor is this the worst; the lasciviousness and unchastity are fearful. Profligacy, on the sides of the harbour, presents itself in the most loathsome forms. Many of the public houses pander for their maintenance by female degradation. . . . Meanwhile, these overflowings of ungodliness are increasing from time to time, by the dispersion of the enormous crews of our line of battleships, excited by release from long continued restraint, who return to their native shores, furnished profusely with the means of excess, by the receipt of their accumulated wages, with which they go forth, like sheep to the slaughter, the prey of the agents of Satan, and carried away captive by every lust'.
>
> 'That amidst such a state of things, multitudes of children should remain unbaptised, that the worship of God should be disregarded by thousands of adults, that ordinances should be despised, – who can be surprised? . . . They are without Christ and without hope. A disgrace to our common nature; and must it not in candour be added, a reproach to those who boast themselves of their Christian privileges, if they refuse to put forth the hand of charity and help to recover these fallen brethren from their wretchedness and shame'.

Stewart, however, was not moved by all this rhetoric.

Late in 1849 Wigram came forward with his proposals to meet the challenge. He wanted to build four new churches, three in Landport and one in Southsea, for the last of which he had already secured a potential benefactor in the shape of Thomas Ellis Owen, architect, politician and property speculator.[7] He wanted to provide eight new parsonage houses and five new church schools. He wanted to promote a parliamentary bill to secure the more effective division of the parish of Portsea, to remove the restrictions placed on St. George's and St. John's, and to provide 'compensation by endowment for fees subtracted from the Vicarage' of Portsea. The whole package would cost £26,000. Wigram probably had in mind the programme of reform that W. F. Hook had initiated in Leeds and the passing of the Leeds Vicarage Act in 1844.[8] But then Hook had been vicar of Leeds and had voluntarily surrendered much of his own income to promote his reforms. Stewart was certainly not volunteering to surrender any of his; even though the archdeacon offered to modify his proposals, and despite pressure from Bishop Sumner to make him change his mind, he raised a barrage of objections to the archdeacon's plans, particularly those which affected his income from fees, and he managed to persuade the incumbents of All Saints and St. Paul's to take sides with him. Whilst these abortive negotiations were taking place, Owen decided to proceed unilaterally with the church at Southsea, which could if necessary operate as a proprietary chapel. Wigram published his proposals for church extension in 1851, and they were strongly supported by Owen and others at a public meeting despite the objections of Stewart. Nevertheless Stewart's attitude did severely hamper the progress of church extension in Portsmouth. Only four new parishes were established between 1851 and Stewart's death in 1878, and the creation of one,

The Revd John Knapp, vicar of St. John's, Portsea, 1853–81, and founder of the Circus Church.
Portsmouth City Records Office.

St. Bartholomew's, was delayed for three years by Stewart because of his objections to the proposed boundaries.[9]

Evangelicals

The obstructive attitude of Stewart was not the only reason for the rather slow Anglican advance in Portsmouth before 1850. Much of the impulse for ecclesiastical reform in the early nineteenth century had come from the growing Evangelical party within the Church of England. From the 1830s there were similar pressures from the radical 'high churchmen', the Tractarians, a number of whose early leaders and supporters were erstwhile Evangelicals. Neither party had made much impact on Portsmouth before 1850, though St. John's, Portsea, was rapidly becoming a centre of Evangelical activity and this was strengthened by the appointment of John Knapp to the incumbency of the church in 1853.

The Evangelicals have had a bad press, largely because most historians of the Victorian Church of England have had Tractarian sympathies. But in fact they made a remarkable contribution to the first phase of the Anglican revival, and continued to play an important role in the church throughout the century. They were not just the bigoted opponents of ceremonial, Sunday trains and popular amusements, as portrayed by the writers of so much Victorian fiction from the Brontës to Trollope. Although they always placed great emphasis on personal salvation and were strongly Calvinist in theology, they were the first to encourage more frequent communion and an improved standard of public worship. It was only in their later, anti-ritualist phase, that some of the more extreme Evangelicals seemed to be emphasising the importance of preaching to the virtual exclusion of the sacraments.

Knapp was a very typical product of the early Evangelical movement, and he was much concerned with the spiritual conditions he found in Portsea. He found at St. John's a large and enthusiastic congregation which substantially increased during the first years of his ministry. There was a bible class for young women with a membership of 120, and a young men's bible class of about 60–70 members which became the nucleus of the Portsea Island Young Men's Christian Association established by him. It was, however, difficult for a church which depended for its financial support upon pew rents to make much impact on the working classes. Knapp was involved in the gospel services currently being organised at Exeter Hall and various theatres in London by the Earl of Shaftesbury, and as a result of the experience determined that something similar had to be promoted in Portsmouth if the church was to reach the working man. The answer was a vacant circus building in Landport. With the support of the bishop of Winchester and the vicar of Portsmouth (McGhie), whose parish the building was in, gospel services were started in the building in June 1857. On the first night the congregation numbered 2,000, and the evening services proved so popular that a morning service was introduced as well. The congregation appears to have been substantially working class. The services were highly experimental. In the 1850s many Anglican churches retained the traditional service pattern of a morning service comprising Morning Prayer, Litany and Ante-Communion with sermon, a service extended to include the full Communion once a month or once a quarter, and an afternoon service of Evening Prayer. Both Evangelicals and Tractarians wanted to break up this traditional pattern, to have separate celebrations of Holy Communion, a shorter morning service and services in the evening either as well as or in preference to the afternoon. At the Circus Church the Sunday morning service was either Morning Prayer or Holy Communion, as separate services, both with sermons. The Sunday evening service was always the Litany supplemented with popular hymns and a rousing sermon. Another, even more experimental service, was held on Wednesday evenings:

> 'After singing two verses of the National Anthem, the more instructive and generally interesting portions from the newspaper are read. This reading

Interior of St. John's, Portsea, the first Evangelical church in Portsmouth, in c.1900.
Portsmouth City Records Office.

occupies, for the most part, three quarters of an hour. The secular portion of the meeting has thus concluded. A hymn is then sung, and a portion of the Bible read and expounded. Another hymn is sung, and a prayer offered by one of the Clergymen present. The meeting concludes with the doxology'.

In addition to the services, flourishing prayer meetings, bible classes and Sunday schools were quickly established. The work at the Circus Church was held up as a model for others to follow in the Evangelical press, and it was clearly to have some definitive impact on Portsmouth:

> 'Since the opening of the Circus for the preaching of the Gospel, a marked change in several respects has been noticeable in the immediate locality. Many Sabbath-breakers, whose shops were habitually opened on the Sunday have now closed them. Several of the beershops are less frequented. In one small and very dirty street hard by, crowded with inhabitants, the most careless and the most dissolute, no less than thirteen families were subscribers for bibles at the same time. Drunkards in numerous instances have renounced their sinful habits; backsliders have been reclaimed; while in several instances, those who have once been infidels, are now strong in God's strength, to build up the faith which once they destroyed'.

From his experiences at the Circus Church, Knapp sought to give advice to those anxious to achieve similar results. He encouraged the holding of services in non-ecclesiastical buildings: 'the church with its few free sittings, with its indifferent, and in some cases, perhaps insolent officials, with its pride of caste and its fashionable ostentation, is not attractive to the great mass of the working classes'. He encouraged the holding of special and non-liturgical services, where appropriate, and the breaking up of the Prayer Book services as essential. He thought that Sunday morning services should be as late as possible: 'the sons of toil have enough of early rising. . . . It is well if they can find the Sabbath day to be to them, a day of rest, physically for the body, as well as morally and spiritually, for the mind and soul'. He thought the singing of hymns was essential and that the preacher 'must be simple and familiar in his style of address'.[10]

The Circus Church was so successful that in 1863 Knapp handed over complete responsibility for it to his curate, John Martin, who became the first incumbent. The temporary building was replaced by a permanent edifice in 1864. The church was, however, never consecrated nor was it ever assigned a parish. Martin remained incumbent until his death in 1904; prior to his death he had bequeathed the ownership of the building to seven trustees 'with absolute power to maintain Evangelical truth independent of any so called church upon earth', though all his successors in the ministry of the church were ordained clergymen of the Church of England.[11]

During the 1860s two new Evangelical parishes were established in Portsmouth, St. Luke's and St. Simon's, the first incumbents of which, Basil Aldwell and Frederick Baldey, survived until 1895 and 1901 respectively. Aldwell was an Irish Protestant with a passionate interest in education. By the time of his death the parish schools could accommodate 1,000 children and were among the best conducted in the Winchester diocese. The other parochial organisations established by Aldwell, in a predominantly working-class district, were a soup kitchen, a Sick and Indigent Visiting Society for the relief of the poor, a tract association, societies for young men and young women, branches of the Band of Hope and Scripture Union, an industrial association and a mothers' meeting.[12] Aldwell was succeeded as vicar of St. Luke's by his son, and even after his resignation in 1920 the parish remained a bastion of conservative Evangelicalism. St. Simon's, a very much more middle-class parish than St. Luke's, has also had a continuous Evangelical ministry. The first vicar, Frederick Baldey, was a noted preacher. In the more working class part of the parish along Albert Road, Baldey established a mission hall with regular weekday prayer meetings; there was also, as at St. Luke's, an industrial society formed 'to provide needlework for poor women during the winter months', a blanket and coal society, and a soup kitchen, members of the congregation being encouraged to buy soup tickets to give to beggars rather than money, which they might spend on alcohol. Baldey, like many other Anglican Evangelicals, was a strong supporter of the temperance movement, and was well pleased when he discovered that the number of total abstainers in his congregation was 'steadily on the increase'. The parish church ran a coffee tavern which contained a bookstall for temperance literature.[13] Baldey was the most enthusiastic of the Portsmouth clergy in his support for revivalist meetings, including those organised by Moody and Sankey, and organised his own Southsea convention, a local version of the Keswick Convention, which he frequently attended, every year from 1882.[14] Regular beach services were conducted for residents and visitors during the summer months.

The development of ritualist practices in a number of Anglican churches from the 1830s made Anglican Evangelicals take what has been interpreted as a rather narrow stand on matters relating to public worship. The general unease was expressed locally by Frederick Baldey:

> 'I confess I have read with feelings of sadness the published descriptions of the interiors of some of our churches on Easter Sunday. And when one finds that such *floral displays* are becoming more and more general, that *choral services* are now the rule rather than the exception, and that places of divine worship are being opened during the week for *organ recitals*, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that a characteristic of the Church of England at the present time is, not an advancing spirituality, but a growing conformity to the world. . . . The introduction of so much music into our churches is part of a deep-laid scheme to unprotestantise the Church of England'.

John Knapp, at St. John's, Portsea, had to resist demands from some members of his congregation for introducing more music into the services, for robing the choir, and for abandoning the wearing of the black gown in the pulpit in favour of the surplice. His argument was that, rightly or wrongly, these innovations had been identified with the 'Romanising' party in the Church of England, and that he would be deserting his fellow Evangelicals in their stand against ritualism were he to accede to the demands.[15] Early in 1881 Knapp left Portsea for St. James', Shaftesbury, and he died later in the same year. During the vacancy that followed the pew-holders succeeded in introducing a surpliced choir, but it was immediately abolished by Knapp's successor, Lindsay Young, who was vicar of St. John's, Portsea, from 1881 until his death in 1933.[16] Young was by far the most extreme of Portsmouth's Evangelical clergymen. Like Aldwell, he was an Irish Protestant, and they were both involved in the organisation of a local Orange Lodge. Young was a violent critic of Anglican ritualism and organised most of the local demonstrations against its growth. Only a few days before his death he sent a letter to the Bishop of Portsmouth containing a consecrated wafer abstracted from a communion service at St. Mark's, North End, as proof of his allegation that that church was moving in a steadily more ritualistic direction. After his death candidates for the vacant living were required to sign an undertaking that they would not make any changes in the services at St. John's, until the bishop intervened by denouncing any such requirement as canonically invalid.[17]

Criticism of ritual, however, did not necessarily imply anti-sacramentalism. Both Knapp at St. John's and Baldey at St. Simon's placed considerable emphasis on the importance of the communion service, though they repudiated any doctrine of eucharistic sacrifice. Holy Communion was celebrated normally twice a month, once after morning and once after evening prayer, but usually also on the major festivals and at St. Simon's the Holy Communion was celebrated on most days in Holy Week. Evening Communion was a hallmark of late Victorian Evangelicalism, partly because it offended 'high churchmen', who thought that the sacrament should be received early and fasting. Another feature of Portsmouth Evangelicalism was its close relationship with non conformity, which was very much contrary to contemporary Anglican attitudes. John Knapp was inhibited by the Bishop of Chichester for preaching at the opening of a Baptist Chapel in Brighton, and his curate forced to resign after criticising the Church of England at several non conformist gatherings; Frederick Baldey had no scruples about intercommunion

with non conformists providing they were also Evangelicals. Lindsay Young was criticised for his participation in a united communion service at St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, though largely on the grounds that he had intruded himself into another Anglican parish, which just happened to be a ritualist one, without the incumbent's permission.[18]

There is no doubt that the Evangelical churches were among the best attended ones in Portsmouth. In the local religious census of 1881, the four principal centres of Evangelical preaching each attracted total congregations of between 2,700 and 1,400.[19] The poorest attended was St. John's, where the congregation had dropped in recent years with the movement of middle-class parishioners to Southsea.[20] Altogether the Evangelicals made a considerable contribution to the health of the late Victorian Church of England in Portsmouth. When one takes into account the separate missions aimed specifically at sailors organised initially by Carus Wilson and later by Agnes Weston, which are outside the scope of this paper, then the contribution was very great indeed.

Ritualists

The radical re-emphasis of traditional Catholic theology, which had begun to stir the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and a few fashionable London churches in the 1830s, had no impact on Portsmouth until the appointment of Thomas Platt as vicar of Holy Trinity, Portsea, in 1854. Platt was a cautious ritualist who began by teaching his congregation the necessary theology, and only then introduced them to its practical and liturgical implications. In this respect he operated in a remarkably similar way to Nicholas Greenwell at St. Barnabas, Holbeck, in Leeds,[21] and it is an interesting coincidence that the two men both introduced the use of eucharistic vestments on the same day, Christmas 1865. 'The chasuble . . . of white silk . . . with orphreys of white and gold . . . was much admired for its graceful shape, and it was hoped that vestments for the other liturgical seasons would shortly be acquired'. The chasuble had been presented by members of the congregation with a petition that Platt should wear it, 'and, if he should think fit, . . . use incense at the proper parts of the Eucharistic Service'. A thurible had already been provided and an incense boat promised. Clearly incense was introduced, since three years later it was recorded that 'the use of the two altar lights, incense and genuflections has been discontinued, in deference to the judgement of the Privy Council, but in other respects the services at this church accord with the customs of others where ritual is elaborately followed. Amongst other works of mercy connected with Trinity church may be mentioned the Portsea Nursery and Hospital for Poor Children, the labours of the Sisters of Mercy and their assistants, and the large schools under the superintendence of the clergy of the parish'.[22] In other words, Holy Trinity was a very typical ritualist parish of the period and, like many though by no means all, situated in a poor district. Like its counterparts elsewhere it also provoked a storm of criticism, not just from Evangelicals, but even from more moderate and conservative 'high churchmen', for whom an exalted concept of the priesthood was one thing, but a plagiarising of Roman vulgarities quite another.[23]

Platt's curate at Holy Trinity, Reginald Shutte, was an even more advanced ritualist, who in 1866 established the mission of the Good Shepherd at the poorest end of the parish, in White's Row on the site of some demolished brothels. The area was dominated by filth, poverty and prostitution. Shutte held daily services at the mission and a weekly early celebration of Holy Communion. By 1870 the Sunday school had more than 350 on its books, and there were ragged schools and a shoe-black society, a nursery and a clothing club, a penny bank and a coal club.[24] In order to raise further funds for the mission, two sermons were preached at St. Jude's, Southsea, by Charles Kingsley, who praised Shutte's work in Portsea but declined to comment on his ritualism.[25] The mission developed into the nucleus of the new church and parish of St. Michael's, Portsea, of which Shutte was the first vicar. The church took nineteen years to complete and was paid for largely by his, predominantly working-class, parishioners. The foundation stone was laid in 1872, and the nave completed in 1882; the chancel was not begun until 1886 and was only

Far left: exterior of St. Michael's, Landport, the second ritualist church in Portsmouth, designed by William Butterfield for Reginald Shutte, and completed in 1891.
Portsmouth City Records Office.

Interior of St. Michael's, Landport.
Portsmouth City Records Office.

completed in 1891, a year before Shutte's sudden death. Part of the delay in completing the church was due to public attacks on Shutte's ritualism which hampered fund-raising. One commentator compared his services unfavourably with the Evangelical ones at St. Luke's: 'Mr. Aldwell grounds his worship on the infallible Word of God; Mr. Shutte his on fusty tradition unknown in the Bible or to the primitive church'. But most of those who disapproved of his ritualism had a high regard for his pastoral ability and concern, including Aldwell and his son, who maintained a close friendship with Shutte despite their religious differences. Shutte was never a controversialist; 'he took no part in the petty squabbles of sects and parties'. He is perhaps one of the most undervalued of Portsmouth's Victorian religious leaders.[26] He was succeeded at St. Michael's by Erasmus Ommanney, a former naval officer and relative of the famous ritualist incumbent of St. Matthew's, Sheffield, who maintained the liturgical tradition set by Shutte.

If Shutte was no self-publicist the same cannot be said of Robert Dolling, priest-in-charge of the first Winchester College Mission in Portsmouth, St. Agatha's, Landport. In fact Dolling became so much identified as the personification of the mission that people forget that he was not the founder, and that the delicate task of transforming it from a mission to an independent parish was undertaken not by him, but by his successor, G. H. Tremenheere. Dolling was also, contrary to some opinion, not unique. His pastoral methods at St. Agatha's owed a great deal to the example of Charles Lowder and Arthur Stanton in the East End of London, with both of whom Dolling had worked before coming to Portsmouth. The role of Winchester College in the mission has also to be clearly understood, since the impression has been given that it was unaware of what it was doing when it appointed Dolling. There is no evidence to suggest this. In fact the evidence is strongly to the contrary. Both Dolling's predecessor and his successor were advanced ritualists who believed in similar pastoral methods to his, though they were rather less aggressive and less publicity conscious. There is every reason to believe that the college knew full well that it was setting up a ritualist mission and had every intention of so doing. The Warden and fellows later expressed some reservations about Dolling, but these were more on the grounds of his socialism than his ritualism. One of the problems in trying to evaluate Dolling's role in Portsmouth, and indeed in the Church of England nationally, is the lack of source material. There appear to be no surviving 'Dolling papers' and the records of St. Agatha's contain very little of use apart from the printed reports. The historian is forced to rely almost entirely on the contemporary publications, which are either essays in self-vindication, or biography of the most hagiographical type.[27]

The first Winchester College mission was established in 1882, with Robert Linklater as the first missioner. It began with no premises for worship and services were held at the parish church of All Saints, Landport, or at Holy Trinity, Portsea, until the mission church of St. Agatha was opened in 1884. The mission had strong support for the whole period from its creation until St. Agatha's became a separate parish in 1898 from successive vicars of All Saints, despite the fact that they had had doubts initially about the creation of the mission and the future division of the parish. The vicar of St. John's, Portsea, Dr. Lindsay Young, had no doubt that the mission would turn into yet another Anglo-Catholic parish. He accused Linklater of being a member of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament and the Society of the Holy Cross, both extreme ritualist organisations, and he organised a petition for the removal of Linklater. At a public meeting called to discuss the matter by the vicar of All Saints, E. B. C. Churchill, a resolution asking for Winchester College to replace Linklater was carried with loud applause, even though Churchill had appealed for moderation and an end to public bickering. The petitioners were granted an interview by the rural dean, E. P. Grant, vicar of St. Thomas', Portsmouth, who agreed to suggest to the bishop that the college might replace Linklater with someone of more moderate views. Linklater, however, remained and his replacement by Dolling in 1885 was not the result of anti-ritualist propaganda, but rather of his own feeling that he was too old to carry out the enormous amount of work that running a successful mission in such a rough district entailed.[28]

The mission church that had been opened in 1884 was fully equipped for 'high church' worship: 'two American

The Revd Robert Dolling, second missioner of St. Agatha's, Landport, 1885–96, from Robert Dolling, TEN YEARS IN A PORTSMOUTH SLUM, *London 1896.*

Interior of the temporary mission church of St. Agatha before its closure in 1895. The altar on the right of the picture is the 'third' altar for requiem masses to which Bishop Randall Davidson objected; from Robert Dolling, TEN YEARS IN A PORTSMOUTH SLUM, *London 1896.*

ladies, Mrs. and Miss Cadman, gave the altar candlesticks, the C.B.S. gave the branch lights, Mrs. Bond gave the cross, Mrs. Codrington gave the altar cloth, Miss Maria Trench gave the east-end hangings, Mrs. Sturgess gave the chalice veil and burse, Mrs. Charles Cubitt gave a cloth of gold altar cloth and Moorish embroidered veil and burse, Mrs. Stewart gave the vestments and a most beautiful picture, Miss Hollis worked and gave the fair linen cloth, Mrs. Lewis Hall gave the chalice and paten, Mr. and Mrs. Bransbury gave the beautiful altar books, Miss Langdon worked and gave a beautiful white silk chalice veil and burse, Mr. Andrews made and gave the lectern. The church was crammed with people'. Dolling had therefore a good framework to build on. What he developed at St. Agatha's was a typical late Victorian Anglo-Catholic slum mission. Outwardly Dolling was very much more of a ritualist than Linklater. Politically, he was more radical.

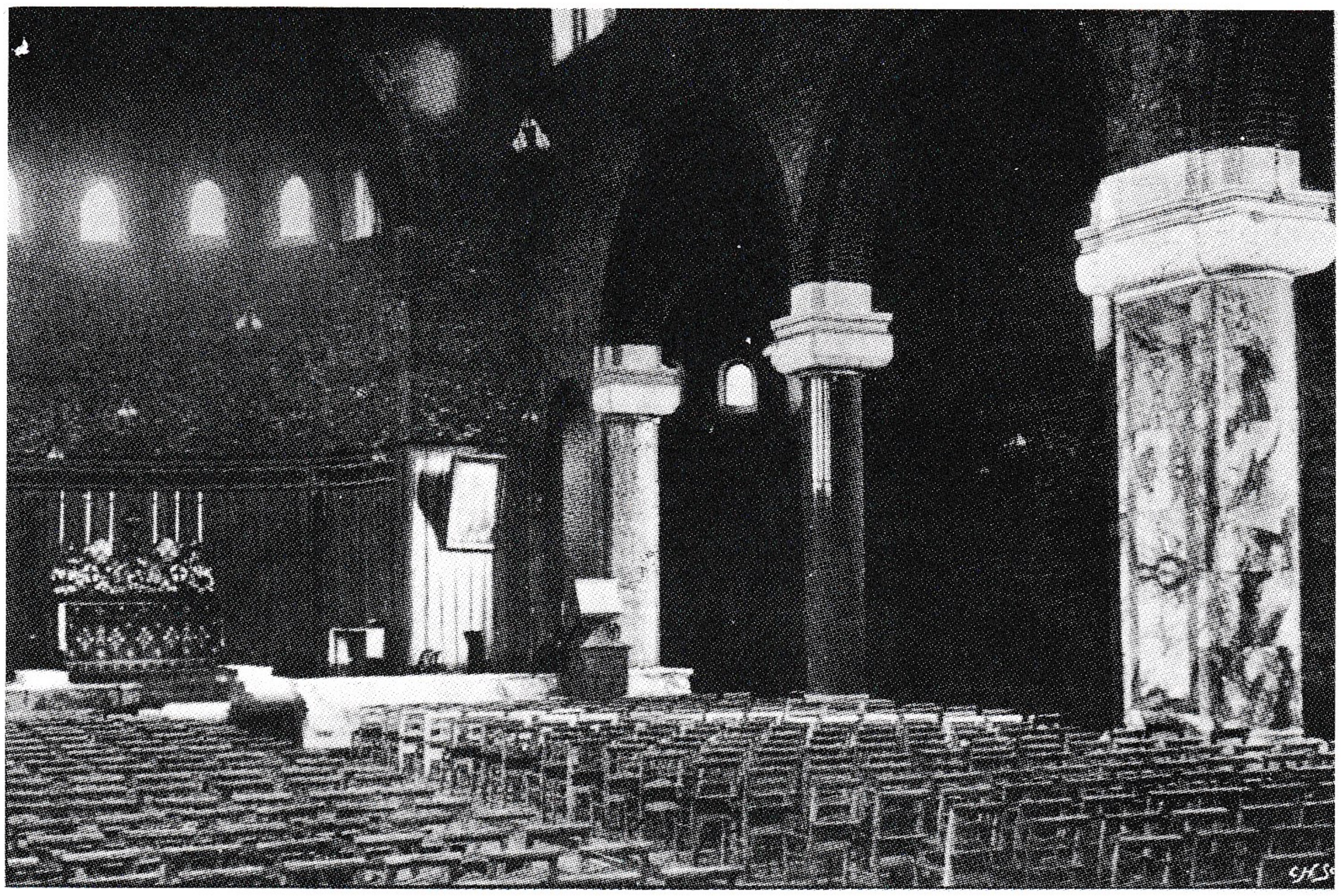
Under Linklater, St. Agatha's, like most mission churches, had been used for both liturgical and social purposes, with the chancel screened off when necessary. Dolling took the view that such an arrangement militated against true devotion in worship and that the mission church should not be used for non-religious purposes. To provide for the social needs of the mission he acquired, ahead of the Salvation Army, a redundant Baptist chapel in Clarence Street, which was turned into a gymnasium. The other aspects of parish work he carried on where Linklater had left off, particularly the work with children and prostitutes. Dolling's own residence in the district was an open house for anybody who needed help. He himself wrote:[29]

> 'In the day-time my sitting-room, in the night-time my bedroom, dominated the whole house, At half-past five every morning I got up and called the boys who were going to work, or the sailors who had to be on board at 6.30. I had a gas stove in my bedroom, and so I could go back to bed again, and read or write sermons till six. This was a very quiet hour, too, for scolding anyone in the house who needed some special talking to. Then at seven I was in church to celebrate the Holy Communion; at 7.40 we said Morning Prayer; another celebration at eight, which the religious men staying in the house usually attended; at 8.30 breakfast, at which everybody was supposed to be present. When I had a shorthand clerk he could take down most of my correspondence while breakfast was going on . . .. All the morning I saw people, parish people, inquisitive people, people with real troubles, people with imaginary ones; but the door was always open, and everybody came upstairs as they liked . . .. Then at one o'clock dinner, at which everybody had to be present. As far as possible everybody except myself took exercise in the afternoon, coming in to tea at 5.30. Service in the church at 7.30; then clubs, gymnasium &c., till 10 p.m.; supper and prayers and everybody in their room at 10.15 p.m. At 10.30 the door was locked, and anyone coming in had to ring my bell. Sometimes I could trust one of my helpers to go down and open the door, but, as a rule, I tried to do it myself. I have known many men shamed out of drunkenness and loose habits by the knowledge that I should have to open the door'.

In order to further his campaign to improve the quality of life in the slum areas of Portsmouth Dolling, served for several years on both the School Board and the Board of Guardians. He fought long battles to improve the conditions of shopworkers, which were particularly bad in Portsmouth, where there was no early closing, and many shops remained open until 7.30 p.m. on Mondays to Thursdays, 10 p.m. on Fridays and midnight on Saturdays. He was concerned about the problem of alcoholism in a town where the number of licences was still phenomenally high, particularly as 'the public house is never by itself. Close to it – perhaps on either side of it – are haunts of shame and

evil'. In his campaign against alcoholism and prostitution Dolling was supported by many other Portsmouth clergymen, both Anglican and nonconformist, and a Vigilance Committee was set up. As a result of deputations to the town council, various improvements were made to the streets, including electric lighting, which helped to reduce the number of prostitutes. The campaign to reduce the number of licences, however, was markedly less successful. Preaching in London in 1894 Dolling expressed the opinion 'that most naval towns, Portsmouth among them, were sinks of iniquity'. Though he had used exactly the same phraseology on several occasions in Portsmouth, on this occasion the remark was seized on by the national newspapers and quoted entirely out of context. The town council was furious and the mayor made a statement denouncing Dolling and repudiating his views. As Dolling himself commented, 'Southsea, the favoured infant of the Corporation, for whose sake Kingston and Landport are sometimes starved, was endangered. If these words preached in London, and reported throughout the Kingdom in the public press, were believed, it might hinder the influx of visitors, and so injure hotels, boardinghouses, and shopkeepers'.[30] Dolling had also deeply offended the brewing interest. His political views were strongly suspect. Although he was not a doctrinaire socialist he clearly identified himself with Anglican clergymen who were. A lecture by Stewart Headlam at St. Agatha's in 1890, advocating land reform, free education, and free breakfasts in Board Schools for poor children, had caused a number of the wealthier supporters of the mission to cancel their subscriptions, and very nearly brought about Dolling's own resignation. It was indeed offered but on this occasion withdrawn.

Dolling's effective resignation, in 1896, was ostensibly brought about by his theological rather than his political views. There had been almost continuous Protestant opposition to Dolling, as there had been to Linklater. In 1887 there was a further petition got up against St. Agatha's, this time caused largely by Dolling's blatant advertisement and encouragement of sacramental confession. Confession was a matter of principle for the more extreme Anglo-Catholics. It was the practice which, more than any of their other innovations, emphasised their 'high' doctrine of the priesthood.[31] Yet it was extremely unpopular with contemporaries, not just Evangelicals and nonconformists, but with moderate 'high churchmen' as well, as a practice which was somehow un-British, and which encouraged corruption and sin in both the confessor and the penitent.[32] A series of public scandals, involving the indelicate questioning of female penitents by inexperienced celibate curates, as occurred at St. Saviour's, Leeds, in 1850,[33] the much publicised refusal of one Brighton clergyman to reveal what he had heard in the confessional in a celebrated murder case, and the exposure by Lord Redesdale of a privately circulated confessor's manual entitled *The Priest in Absolution*, all fuelled public indignation against the practice, and many ritualist priests had modified the publicity they had previously given to their advocacy of confession. Dolling did exactly the opposite. In a district like Landport he regarded it as 'the most needed of all church discipline' and advocated it in his public preaching. In other matters of ritual Dolling was also an extremist. In 1889 he was asked by the suffragan bishop of Guildford if he would abandon the use of incense, extempore prayer – a practice also indulged in by Evangelicals – and the extra-liturgical services of Compline, Vespers of the Dead and Vespers of the Blessed Sacrament. Dolling had found at St. Agatha's in 1885 a clearly 'high church' service pattern, with 'Celebrations on Sunday at seven and eight, morning and evening prayer, and a children's service; and on weekdays, Celebrations twice a week, and evensong every night'. He quickly introduced a daily celebration of the Holy Communion and the extra-liturgical devotions a few years later. He also waited a few years before introducing both a Children's Eucharist and a Solemn Eucharist on Sundays, and on Sunday evenings a Solemn Evensong, with the officiant in a cope and incense at the Magnificat, as well as a much more infor-



mal mission service. By 1895 there were 'five services daily, eight services every Sunday, and ten on the first Sunday of the month'. It might have been expected that Dolling would have had difficulties with his bishop over his ritualist views and practices. In fact he had comparatively few. Of the three bishops of Winchester during Dolling's tenure of St. Agatha's, Harold Browne was suspicious but tolerant, and A. W. Thorold, though a firm Evangelical, had a very high regard for Dolling and the work he was doing in Portsmouth. The bishop that Dolling found he could not handle was Randall Davidson, who succeeded Thorold in 1895, and was translated to Canterbury in 1903. Davidson's arrival coincided with the completion of the new permanent church of St. Agatha, to replace the first mission church, the first step on the road to St. Agatha's becoming a separate parish. Dolling had managed to convince himself that the licence he held to perform divine service in the mission church would cover the permanent church as well, but Davidson was rightly doubtful of Dolling's allegation that Thorold had taken this view. He was greatly alarmed that the new church contained three altars, one of which was to be used exclusively for requiem masses. Protracted negotiations about the altar, and the general character of the services and teaching at St. Agatha's, continued between Dolling, strongly supported by the Headmaster of Winchester, and Davidson, who was being encouraged by the rural dean, Edgar Jacob of St. Mary's, Portsea, to take a firmer line than that taken by his two predecessors. Dolling, however, was adamant that he would make no concessions and he resigned. This time the resignation was accepted despite strong local support for Dolling, including a letter from the vicar of All Saints, technically still the parish church, 'protesting against his Lordship's action in the matter'.[34] Dolling's opponents, including the Evangelical clergy, were delighted. Dolling left Portsmouth early in 1896, and was without a parish for two years until appointed vicar of St. Saviour's, Poplar, in 1898. He was succeeded at St. Agatha's by G. H. Tremenheere, curate of Holy Redeemer, Clerkenwell. A reporter sent to spy on the services there discovered that the Evangelicals would not be able to claim a great victory:[35]

> 'The congregation included several sisters of Mercy and many little children, the smallest of whom bowed to the altar before they took their seats. The ritual is high, but nothing like that which has prevailed at St. Agatha's. At the communion service the celebrant – who was Mr. Tremenheere – wore a chasuble, but there was no apparent departure from the rubric'.

Dolling's resignation from St. Agatha's has been labelled in Anglo-Catholic mythology an act of persecution on Davidson's part, and it was partly Davidson's promotion of the revised Prayer Book in 1927–28 which resulted in so little support for it in Anglo–Catholic circles. Yet this is a clear misreading of the evidence. Dolling had always expressed the intention of leaving St. Agatha's after it had ceased to be an experimental mission and developed into a separate parish. Davidson's interference provided him with an excuse to leave in a dramatic way on his own terms. Jacob's analysis of him as arrogant and self-willed was not far from the truth. It must also be pointed out that Dolling gave Davidson little time to make concessions. There is plenty of indication from his subsequent episcopal career that Dolling might have been as capable of calling Davidson's bluff, as he was Browne's or Thorold's, when they raised similar objections to his ritualism. If Dolling was a martyr for ritualism, his martyrdom was entirely self-inflicted. That is not to deny his undoubted pastoral gifts, but merely to indicate their limitations. The resignation was entirely consistent with Dolling's public image, an image which he himself had carefully created.

As Dolling left St. Agatha's, another ritualist, and even greater self-publicist, arrived at the mission of St. Matthew's, established in a predominently working class district of Southsea along Fawcett Road. Bruce Cornford was a great admirer of Dolling, though he was a much more erratic ritualist and politically belonged to the populist

Interior of the permanent parish church of St. Agatha at its opening in 1895, and before the decoration of the apse: from Robert Dolling, TEN YEARS IN A PORTSMOUTH SLUM, *London 1896.*

The Revd Bruce Cornford, vicar of St. Matthew's, Southsea, with his assistant clergy and servers, vested for High Mass, Easter 1906.
Portsmouth City Records Office.

right wing of the Conservative party. Within a few months of his arrival he was drawing vast congregations to his small mission church, and there had to be two evening services on a Sunday to cater for all those who wanted to attend, and even then some had to be turned away. Cornford had been appointed a vicar-designate of the new parish. The permanent church was consecrated in 1903 but not completed until 1924, much of the money coming from Cornford's own energetic fundraising. Whereas Dolling's promotion of ritualism was entirely positive, Cornford's was strongly anti-Protestant in character, yet at the same time vigorously anti-Roman Catholic. He was an English Catholic nationalist. He responded to the Evangelical disapproval of alcohol by having his parish institute licensed for its sale and consumption, and to their dislike of theatres by becoming chaplain to those in Portsmouth. He was later the Chairman of Portsmouth Football Club. His parish magazine was entertaining, vitriolic and libellous, though his private correspondence revealed, perhaps not surprisingly, a rather more pathetic aspect.[36] He survived at St. Matthew's, dejected and embittered, until his death in 1940. The church, which attracted large congregations – though many came from the much more middle class neighbouring parishes of St. Bartholomew's, St. Jude's and St. Simons's – until the mid-1920s, was less than half-full a decade later. So too were the once thriving churches of St. Agatha and St. Michael, and Holy Trinity, Portsea ceased to function as a parish church in 1906.

Interior of St. Mary's, Portsea, rebuilt by Sir Arthur Blomfield for Canon Edgar Jacob between 1887 and 1889, from BERNARD WILSON: A MEMOIR, *Portsmouth and London 1910.*

The Anglican Via Media

It must not be thought, though the idea has frequently been put forward by their apologists, that the Evangelicals and ritualists were the only moving spirits in the mid-Victorian reform and expansion of the Church of England. The two extremes never ever represented a majority within the church, and there were plenty of reformers who were not strong party men. One such was Joseph Blake, vicar of St. Jude's, Southsea, a predominantly middle-class parish though with a high proportion of boarding-houses, from 1869 until 1909. St. Jude's was one of the first churches in Portsmouth to develop a fully choral service, so much so that one contemporary critic likened it to an opera-house or music-hall:[37]

> 'The promoters of this eminently successful place of entertainment are to be congratulated on the hit, the very palpable hit, they have made in catering for the wants of the classes of luxury and fashion who form their clientele. . . . No printed programmes are sold: they are only hung about the entrances. An additional convenience to the public, and a source of extra profit to the proprietors, might be secured by vending them at the usual rates – two pence in the gallery, and sixpence in the body of the hall. The programme on the occasion of my attendance was the following:– As overture, the "Caro Cibus" from Mendelssohn's *Lauda Zion*, solo for the organ, was rendered in a very even and sympathetic manner. After Tallis's "Ferial" responses, we are treated to Crotch's *Venite* in E flat, sung with sweetness and precision. Then came the Psalms 139, Crotch in E flat; 140, Hills in B flat; 141, Alcock in A flat. . . . The rendition of Smart's flowing and florid *Te Deum* in A – the *pièce de résistance* of the matinée – was in every respect praiseworthy; its changing movements being admirably given. Next, Ancient's *Jubilate* in G was delivered with proper vigour and go. Then, at intervals, we had the well-selected melodies of Hymns 307 ("Zion", Havergal), 441 ("St. Joseph of the Studium", Barnby), and 36 ("Bentley", Hullah). A most enjoyable morning was brought to a close by a skilful interpretation, on the organ, of the trio "Gratias Agimus Tibi" from Rossini's beautiful *Messe Solenelle*. . . . The audiences at St. Jude's are enormous. . . . A suggestion, which like that about the programmes, the energetic management would perhaps do well to consider. . . . In the vestibules are sundry sufficiently visible placards giving directions, similar to those in use at the Opera Houses and other places of amusement, relative to the arrangement of seats, etc. These directions conclude with an intimation worded thus:– "Visitors are expected to contribute LIBERALLY to the expenses of this church and the offertories generally". Now although "liberally" is emphasised by red ink, there is a hyper-dainty scrupulousness in this announcement, a meek hesitation, a roundabout circumlocutory, mealy-mouthed, periphrastic delicacy, which, however laudable in intention, is surely excessive, and superfluous, and altogether out of place. . . . I really cannot see why fixed prices should not be stated in the ordinary way, over a pigeon-hole, with "Pay here". . . . There were, by-the-by, the usual incidental service and sermon, but they call for no particular remark'.

There were those, however, for whom these choral excesses were a more serious matter. One worshipper noted in his diary his 'impression that the practices at this church are becoming more and more Ritualistic'.[38] In 1884 another protested against the introduction of an altar cross.[39] Yet thirty years later, as a result of the vagaries of private patronage, St. Jude's became, under Bishop Ingham, the fifth Evangelical church in Portsmouth and, eventually, its most flourishing one.

The most notable experiment in urban mission in Portsmouth was that begun at St. Mary's, Portsea, after the death of J. V. Stewart in 1878. Though much maligned by his successors there is less evidence to suggest that Stewart was so poorly regarded by his contemporaries, apart from Archdeacon Wigram. His obituary notice pointed out his rebuilding of St. Mary's in the 1840s, and described him as Portsmouth's most 'inoffensive' clergyman.[40] Certainly he was no reformer. His successor, Edgar Jacob, was. His parish had a population of about twenty thousand 'inhabited chiefly by seamen, dockyardmen, brickmakers and labourers'. He 'found a church seated for less than 1,000 people, and requiring immediate repair, one small infant's school accommodating about 100 children, not under Government inspection, and condemned by the authorities (on account of the buildings) as inefficient, and no other parochial organisation whatever'. He immediately set out to repair the parish church, and with the provision of a little extra seating, it could then accommodate the 1,200 people who crowded into his Sunday evening service. He secured a redundant iron church from Bermondsey and opened this as St. Barnabas' mission in July 1879. He then acquired a site for another mission church, St. Faith's, and the building on this site was completed in December 1879. The two mission churches could accommodate a further 900 people. St. Faith's was used, in addition to the services, for 'weekly Mothers' Meetings, Sewing Class for girls, Penny Bank, fortnightly class of deaf and dumb peo-

ple . . . for the regular meetings of the parochial branch of the Church of England Temperance Society and Band of Hope, for the sale at cheap rates of good soup during the winter, . . . and for parochial Concerts, Teas, and meetings of various kinds'. By 1880 Jacob was building a third mission church and appealing for funds for a fourth. He was planning also to build new Sunday school accommodation. In order to do all this he had raised nearly £3,500 in two years, but urgently needed more resources if he was to complete his task.[41] Jacob's efforts to revitalise church work in his parish were enormously successful. The number of baptisms at the parish church nearly trebled between 1876 and 1880, the number of communicants also increased substantially. The Sunday school attendance rose from 150 to 1,700 in two years. The various charities to help the poor flourished, the temperance organisations had a total membership of nearly a thousand.[42] As a result of this initial success Jacob could seriously contemplate the full-scale rebuilding of the parish church, eventually completed in 1889.

The system of parish administration that Jacob developed in Portsea, and which was adapted and extended by his three successors, Cosmo Lang (1896–1901), Bernard Wilson (1901–9) and Cyril Garbett (1909–19), became, as that of Leeds parish church had been forty years earlier, a model for Anglican urban parishes nationally.[43] Jacob became successively bishop of Newcastle and St. Albans; Lang bishop of Stepney, archbishop of York and then of Canterbury; Garbett bishop of Southwark and Winchester, and archbishop of York. Wilson was robbed of episcopal preferment through sudden early death. The effectiveness of the Portsea system depended substantially on a large staff. Under Lang the number of curates was increased from twelve to sixteen. They were almost without exception Oxford or Cambridge graduates who had been to theological college. Indeed their curacy at Portsea was very much an extension of their theological college training. They were expected to remain unmarried whilst at Portsea and the vicarage was turned into a clergy house complete with oratory. Jacob, though a strong sacramentalist was very suspicious of the more advanced 'high churchmen', and had in particular a strong antipathy to Robert Dolling. The ritual at St. Mary's therefore remained fairly restrained, and the candles on the altar were not lit until after Garbett's departure in 1919. Under Lang, however, a daily Eucharist was introduced and the teaching from the pulpit became more distinctively Catholic. The parish was divided into districts, one assigned to the parish church and one to each of the mission churches, of which there were five by 1900. Each district became the responsibility of two or three of the curates and great emphasis was placed on house-to-house visitation. Lang introduced a network of church councils, a generation before they became mandatory under the Enabling Act of 1919. Each district had a church council, which elected a number of its members to serve on a council for the whole parish. Great emphasis was placed by Jacob on parochial organisations, both spiritual and social ones, and these were greatly helped by the building of the parish institute during Lang's incumbency. The type of parish created by Jacob and developed by his successors at Portsea marked an important change from previous policy in urban areas. From the early nineteenth century the aim had been to break down the large urban units into much smaller ones.

Hook, at Leeds, had thought of an ideal urban parish being one of about 5,000 inhabitants, with church, school, vicarage and one or two curates. Jacob challenged that view by saying that in some very densely populated inner-city areas it was more sensible not to divide parishes but simply to supply them with mission churches and work them with a college of clergy. That he should have been able to implement this sort of policy was entirely due to what he regarded as the shortcomings of his predecessor who, for entirely different and more selfish reasons, had set his face against the over-division of parishes.

The effects of Jacob's arrival in Portsea in 1878 were not just confined to his own parish. In 1880 the bishop of Winchester asked him, together with the vicar of St. Thomas', Portsmouth, E. P. Grant, and two laymen to form a commission 'to inquire into the . . . spiritual condition and parochial needs' of Portsmouth and Portsea. They found that for a population of some 124,000 there was still only Anglican church accommodation for about 20,000 and only 35 clergymen, of whom four were 'chiefly engaged in educational work'. The commission recommended the building of four new parish churches, as well as the enlargement of several existing ones, and the building of a number of additional mission churches.[44] The attempts by Jacob and Grant, however, to reorganise the Church of England in what they regarded as the areas of the two mother parishes, was not always seen in exactly the same light by the incumbents of the now independent daughter churches. Nathaniel Godfrey of St. Bartholomew's, who emphasised that he was the oldest clergyman in the rural deanery, and the second in seniority of institution, found the report 'startling'. Jacob had not consulted his colleagues but proposed the creation of new parishes and the alteration of the boundaries of existing ones purely as a result of the commission's own limited understanding of the problems, whereas he and his fellow incumbents were, 'every one of them, quite as cognizant of the wants of their respective parishes as Mr. Jacob can possibly be, and . . . quite as capable of dealing with them'.[45] The final solution to the spiritual needs of Portsmouth, as defined by those involved at the time, had to wait until the launching of the Six Churches Fund by Bishop Talbot in 1913, and the completion of the new churches in northern and eastern Portsmouth. This programme, despite the delays, owed a great deal to Jacob's proposals and to the example he had given of how urban mission could be successfully accomplished in a way which was not particularly identified with Anglo-Catholicism or Evangelicalism, but also managed to meet the needs of working people.

Changes in Anglican Worship

One of the most notable changes that took place throughout England during the second half of the nineteenth century was that in the manner of conducting public worship in the established church. In Portsmouth in 1850 the pattern of Anglican public worship was very much what it would have been a century earlier. Even as late as 1869 there was an acrimonious correspondence in the press about the services at St. Thomas', Portsmouth, with accusations that they were still being conducted in an eighteenth century manner.[46] But significant changes had occurred elsewhere. In 1876 the only fully ritualist church was Holy Trinity, Portsea, though it was not very well attended. Two churches in Southsea, St. Jude's and St. Paul's were regarded as 'high', and so was the Royal Garrison church. All Saints, Landport, and St. Mark's, North End, were rather 'low', and all the others quite definitely so. St. Mary's, Portsea, was claimed to have the worst music in Portsmouth. At St. George's, Portsea, a surpliced choir had recently been abolished and the black gown reintroduced for preaching.[47] In 1889 visitors to Portsmouth were provided with a consumer's guide to Anglican worship by the Anglo-Catholic *Church Times*.[48] There was considerable approval for Edgar Jacob, who had rebuilt St. Mary's, Portsea, at a cost of £42,000. Jacob's churchmanship was regarded as 'hazy', but the whole tone of the parish was 'moderately high'. St. Thomas', Portsmouth, was considered to be spiritually dead and only notable for its bells. St. Jude's, Southsea, was too fashionable; the congregation did not listen to Joseph Blake's 'excellent and practical sermons' and the 'parochial organisations are in a languishing and despondent condition'. Full Catholic ritual, and an excellent parish priest in Reginald Shutte, could be found at St. Michael's, Portsea. Holy Trinity, Portsea, was also ritualist, but Thomas Platt was hampered by age and infirmity, and 'almost a cypher as regards church life in Portsmouth'. The liveliest Evangelical churches were St. Simon's and St. Luke's, Southsea. St. Bartholomew's and St. Paul's, Southsea, All Saints, Landport, and St. Mark's, North End, were all rather indifferent. Lindsay Young at St. John's, Portsea, was the arch-opponent of St. Agatha's, Landport, where there was 'the highest Catholic teaching and ritual'.

The growing sacramentalism of Anglican churches through the 1870s and 1880s was, however, as marked in Portsmouth as it was nationally. By 1893 there were nineteen Anglican churches, excluding mission churches, in Portsmouth. Of these three were definitely Anglo-Catholic, eleven moderately 'high', one moderately 'low' and four Evangelical. The Anglo-Catholic churches were Holy Trinity, St. Michael's and St. Agatha's. All had a daily Eucharist and St. Agatha's had four celebrations on Sundays. Holy Trinity and St. Agatha's had vestments and the latter also had incense. In the eleven moderately 'high'

churches the eastward position was usually taken at the Holy Communion which was celebrated every Sunday and on some weekdays; in some the altar candles were also lit; all used the 'high church' *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. At the moderately 'low' St. Thomas', Portsmouth, there were no weekday celebrations of the Holy Communion and the use of *Church Hymns* was preferred. At the Evangelical churches of St. John, St. Simon, St. Luke and the Circus, the Holy Communion was not even celebrated every Sunday.[49] By 1911 only St. John's and the Circus Church had still failed to establish a weekly communion service, and they never did establish one. Eight churches had, however, established a daily celebration and six a weekly choral one. A detailed survey of these services is given, together with some statistics of ritual observance, in the appendices to this paper.[50] Two Portsmouth churches were among those reported on in evidence given by the Evangelical Church Association to the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, both having been visited by the Association's agents in January 1904.[51] At St. Agatha's they noted the use of vestments, the use of the preparation from the Roman missal, the kissing of the altar, attacks on Protestants in the sermon, notices about the hearing of confessions, prayers for the departed, the *Lavabo* after the offertory, the ringing of the bell at the *Sanctus*, and the ablutions during the service. There was only one communicant at the service and most of the congregation consisted of children. The service at St. Michael's was also a children's Eucharist, much abhorred by Evangelicals who regarded it as an abuse of the sacrament; here also there were notices about confessions and prayers for the departed, the use of vestments and the mixed chalice, the *Lavabo* and bells at the *Sanctus*, the manual acts were hidden and the elements elevated with the bells rung at the same moment, the ablutions were performed during the service, and the 'last gospel' from the Roman missal was said by the priest; there were only two communicants. The vicar of St. Michael's, Erasmus Ommanney, admitted that the evidence was accurate, and that the service had been exactly the same since he had been the incumbent. The vicar of St. Agatha's, G. H. Tremenheere, declined to comment.

Growing sacramentalism, and, frequently, growing ritualism, within the Church of England was not just reflected in changes in the services. It can also be seen in the phenomenal increase in the number of communicants in virtually every Anglican church during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Attendances at Morning and Evening Prayer may have declined, though usually statistics are not available, but the numbers of regular communicants grew and they communicated more frequently. This pattern is clearly revealed in all the surviving service registers of Anglican churches in Portsmouth, whether they were Anglo-Catholic, Evangelical or of more central churchmanship.[52]

The Anglican Achievement

The aim of this paper has been to show the ways in which the Church of England tried to cope with what it regarded as the spiritual needs of Victorian Portsmouth. Although, for the sake of clarity, the work of Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics and those of no strong party affiliation have been treated separately, this should not lead to the assumption that their methods were vastly different. Indeed it must already be clear that the differences that existed were more on grounds of theology, which could have practical implications, and that where no theological issue was involved attitudes and practice could be very similar. Although the Victorian Church of England may not always have enjoyed the success it would have liked in gaining the allegiance of the working classes – and in this respect its achievement has been underestimated both by itself and by some modern scholars – it was remarkably successful in holding, and frequently in gaining from non conformity, the allegiance of the middle classes. This in itself was no mean achievement at a time when Christianity throughout Europe was beginning to be seriously challenged by the forces of rationalism and science. Atheism and agnosticism were still very much minority intellectual positions in England in the first decade of the twentieth century, and in most towns probably at least a third of the population were still regular churchgoers. In the concluding section of this paper it is necessary therefore to look at the principal elements in the strategy of the Church of England in the field of urban mission and at the ways in which this strategy operated in Portsmouth.

The fundamental element in the strategy was liturgical reform. The growth in communion services and in the number of communicants was common to all groups in the Church of England. So too was the desire to replace the traditional Prayer Book Services with something less rigid and, the reformers hoped, more popular. For the Evangelicals this lay simply in breaking up the traditional services into shorter ones, a return to more enthusiastic preaching and informal prayer meetings. In other sections of the Church of England the emphasis was on improving the standard of church music and the outward appearance of the services. For the ritualists this meant trying to recapture the lost liturgical glories of the medieval church, either through the re-introduction of medieval ceremonial to enrich the Prayer Book services, or through the adoption of modern Roman Catholic liturgical usage. It was this 'romanising' movement within the Church of England that forced the more conservative Evangelicals to fight a

rearguard action against the 'prettifying' of services as the first step towards eventual union with Rome and the undoing of the Reformation. In Portsmouth this viewpoint can be seen in the vigorous refusal of the incumbents of the four main Evangelical churches to consider the introduction of surpliced choirs, or to abandon the use of the black gown in the pulpit. Their defence of these principles grew stronger as the ritualistic practices at the Anglo-Catholic Churches of Holy Trinity, St. Michael's, St. Agatha's and St. Matthew's became more advanced.

The second element in the strategy was pastoral concern. This can be seen both in the strong emphasis on house-to-house visiting, especially at St. Mary's, Portsea, and in the great emphasis on non-liturgical activities in most churches, with special organisations and meetings for men, women and young people. In most churches there was a strong emphasis on temperance, especially among the Evangelicals, who also disapproved of dances, card-playing and theatre-going. Only Bruce Cornford at St. Matthew's, Southsea, came out strongly against the temperance campaign. The provision of non-liturgical attractions and educational facilities, in the shape of both day and Sunday schools, was all part of the campaign to deepen the religious commitment of the people, whilst at the same time providing for their other needs. For Evangelicals true religious commitment was only to be found in the conversion experience. Anglo-Catholics, as a feature of their pastoral theology, laid enormous emphasis on the value of sacramental confession as an essential part of spiritual discipline. Both conversion and confession were a means of coping with the problem of sin, which was a much more dominant theme for the Victorian preacher than it was for his eighteenth-century predecessor or his twentieth-century successor. Obsession with sin and the need to overcome it dominated the pastoral concern of most Victorian clergymen.

The third element in the strategy was social awareness. This was a logical development from pastoral concern and equally dominated by obsession with sin. The sins of men and women were fostered by evil social conditions, and their alleviation was an essential prerequisite for the suppression of sin. Victorian churchmen were not just concerned therefore with obvious evils such as alcoholism, gambling and prostitution, but with low wages, bad housing, long working hours, poor factory conditions, lack of sanitation, and all the shortcomings of society that demoralised the working man and his family and helped to separate them from God. To some extent during the nineteenth century the attitude of churchmen changed. They came to be less concerned about the removal of social deprivation simply to achieve spiritual gains, and more concerned about social conditions as problems in their own right. And it was in this respect, in particular, that Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics frequently parted company. Towards the end of the nineteenth century a number of Anglican churchmen began to openly support Labour leaders, and in Portsmouth these included not only the Anglo-Catholic Robert Dolling, but such influential clergymen as Bernard Wilson of St. Mary's, Portsea, who publicly campaigned for the Labour candidate in the 1906 general election.

The final element in the strategy was lay involvement. In order to achieve the sort of spiritual revolution they wanted, Victorian clergymen needed the active support of the laity, since there were simply not enough clergymen available to undertake the tasks required: Sunday school teaching, parochial visiting, running societies and clubs, managing soup kitchens, organising bible classes, fund-raising. The speed at which the clergy involved the laity in the work of the church varied from one church to another. In those churches where the income was derived substantially from pew rents the laity had always had a greater voice in the affairs of the church than those parishes where the voice of the laity was only effectively heard once a year at the vestry meeting for the election of churchwardens. During the 1860s and 1870s, with the development of all these new parochial organisations, and the beginnings of parish magazines, the laity were drawn more and more into the administration of the parish. By the 1890s many parishes were, like St. Mary's, Portsea, developing church councils. Some Evangelical and Anglo-Catholic churches were a little nervous of lay involvement for fear that it would undermine the authority of the clergy, but many followed suit. Even Bruce Cornford, of St. Matthew's, Southsea, established a church council, though, following the advice of St. Paul, he only allowed men to sit on it and vote for its members, and he ignored their advice when they disagreed with him. Lay involvement, however, became so essential to the government of the church that parochial church councils were established everywhere, whether they existed or not, in 1920, and women were given the same rights as men.

How successful was the Victorian Church of England nationally, and in Portsmouth, in securing its spiritual goals? There is little doubt that with the middle classes it was enormously successful, and the church was a significant pressure group in the equally successful campaign to improve social conditions and the quality of life, especially in urban communities. With the working classes the success of the church was more limited and more patchy. Its success depended very much on the quality of its clergy, usually completely irrespective of their theological beliefs or liturgical practices. But that success was, simply because of its nature, almost inevitably short-lived. We have

seen how great crowds were attracted to the Circus Church in the 1850s and 1860s, to St. Michael's in the 1870s and 1880s, to St. Agatha's in the 1880s and 1890s, and later to St. Matthew's. The 'golden' period for all of these churches was a decade, or two at the most. St. Mary's, Portsea, which was fortunate in having a succession of distinguished incumbents and a large team of hard-working curates, managed to maintain a large congregation for a rather longer period, though the more working class worshippers were normally to be found at one of the mission churches, rather than at the parish church. Nevertheless there is no doubt that there was a substantial revival in the fortunes of the Church of England in Victorian Portsmouth, and it was a revival that made its impact throughout the whole extent of this large urban community, and at virtually every level of society.

APPENDIX A

Ritual Practices in Portsmouth Churches, 1893 and 1901

St. Thomas: Eastward position at Holy Communion in 1901.
Royal Garrison: Eastward position at Holy Communion in 1893.
St. James: Eastward position at Holy Communion in 1893 and 1901; candles (not lighted) in 1893.
St. Mary: Eastward position at Holy Communion in 1893 and 1901; candles not lighted in 1893, claimed that candles were lighted in 1901 in *Ritualist Church Guide* though this clearly contradicted by the evidence of Garbett in *Work of a Great Parish*; mixed chalice in 1901.
All Saints: Eastward position at Holy Communion in 1893 and 1901.
St. Agatha: Eastward position, lighted candles, vestments and incense at Holy Communion in 1893 and 1901; mixed chalice in 1901 when parish supported English Church Union, Guild of All Souls and Confraternity of Blessed Sacrament.
St. Mark: Eastward position, lighted candles and mixed chalice at Holy Communion in 1901.
St. Michael: Eastward position at Holy Communion in 1893 and 1901; candles not lighted in 1893; lighted candles, also vestments, incense and mixed chalice in 1901, when parish supported English Church Union, Guild of All Souls and Confraternity of Blessed Sacrament.
St. George: Eastward position at Holy Communion in 1893.
Holy Trinity: Eastward position, lighted candles and vestments at Holy Communion in 1893.
St. Anne: Eastward position and lighted candles at Holy Communion in 1893.
St. Bartholomew: Eastward position at Holy Communion in 1893 and 1901; mixed chalice in 1901.
St. Jude: Eastward position at Holy Communion in 1893 and 1901.
St. Paul: Eastward position at Holy Communion in 1893.
St. Peter: Eastward position at Holy Communion in 1893 and 1901; mixed chalice in 1901.
St. Matthew: Eastward position, lighted candles and mixed chalice at Holy Communion in 1901; vicar-designate (Cornford) a member of the English Church Union.
St. Stephen: Eastward position and mixed chalice at Holy Communion in 1901.

Note: The above statistics must be treated with caution. It is doubtful whether the implied decline in ritual standards at some churches between 1893 and 1901 really took place, and the allegation about lighted candles at St. Mary's is almost certainly a mistake. Doubt must also be cast on the 1893 return for St. Michael's, since it was alleged in evidence to the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline in 1904 that the ritual there then was the same as it had been in 1892.

APPENDIX B

Communion Services in Portsmouth Churches, 1911

St. Thomas:	Sundays 8 and 12, Holy Days 8.
St. Michael:†*	Sundays 7, 8 and 11 (choral), weekdays 8 except Thursdays and Holy Days 7 and 8 (choral).
St. Luke:	First Sunday in month and Festivals 8, 2nd and 4th Sundays after Morning Prayer, 3rd and 5th Sundays after Evening Prayer.
St. Simon:	Sundays 8, also 1st and 3rd Sundays after Morning Prayer, 2nd Sunday after Evening Prayer.
St. Jude:	Sundays 8 and after Morning Prayer, 1st and 3rd Thursdays 12.
St. Mark:*	Sundays 7 and 8, also last Sunday in month 12, weekdays 7.30.
St. Mary:*	Sundays 7 and 8, weekdays 7.30.
All Saints:	Sundays 8, also 1st Sunday in month 12, 1st Thursday 11, Holy Days 8.30.
St. James:	Sundays 8, also 1st and 3rd Sundays after Morning Prayer, Holy Days 7.30.
St. George:	Sundays 8 and 12, also 1st Sunday in month 7, Holy Days 8.
Royal Garrison:	First Sunday in month 8 and 12, other Sundays 7 and 8, Thursdays and Holy Days 8.

St. Paul:	Sundays 8, also 1st and 3rd Sundays 12, Holy Days 8.
St. Peter:†*	1st and 3rd Sundays 7, 8 and 12 (choral), last Sunday in month 8, 9.30 (choral) and 12.15, other Sundays 8 and 12 (choral), weekdays 8, Holy Days 7, 8 and 11.
St. Matthew:†*	Sundays 8, 10 and 11 (choral), weekdays 7.30 except Thursdays 11.30.
St. John:	Twice a month, after Evening Prayer on 2nd Sunday, after Morning Prayer on last Sunday.
St. Anne:	1st and 3rd Sundays 11.30, 2nd and 4th Sundays 8, Holy Days 11.
St. Andrew:	Sundays 8, also 1st Sunday in month 12 (choral), Holy Days 8.
St. Patrick:	Sundays 9.45.
St. Margaret:†*	Sundays 8 and 11 (choral), weekdays 8.
St. Stephen:*	Sundays 8, also 1st and 3rd Sundays 12, 2nd Sunday 7, weekdays 7.30.
St. Bartholomew:	Sundays 8 and 12.20, Wednesdays 8, Holy Days 8 and 11.20.
St. Saviour:†	Sundays 8 and 11 (choral), also 4th Sunday 7, Wednesdays and Holy Days 7.
St. Agatha:†*	Sundays 7, 8 and 11 (choral), weekdays 7 and 8.
Circus:	As announced, usually twice a month.
St. Alban:	Sundays and Holy Days 7.30.

† churches with a weekly choral celebration.
* churches with a daily celebration.

Note: In 1893 only three churches had a daily celebration – St. Agatha (Sundays 7, 8, 10 and 11 choral), St. Michael (Sundays 8 and 9.30) and Holy Trinity (Sundays 8 and 9). Five churches had a celebration on Thursdays and Holy Days – St. Mary, All Saints, St. George, St. Bartholomew and St. Peter. St. Jude's and the Royal Garrison Church had a celebration on Holy Days, and St. Mark's one on a Wednesday. All churches except St. John, St. Luke, St. Simon and the Circus had a celebration every Sunday.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to my former colleagues at Portsmouth City Records Office and to the staffs of Portsmouth Central and Southampton University Libraries, the three institutions that have provided most of the raw material for this study, and in particular to Miss Gillian Symes, to whose excellent index of the *Hampshire Telegraph* I owe the ability to make proper use of the newspaper evidence. The Revd W. M. Jacob has kindly commented on a draft of the text, but must be absolved from any complicity in the errors that remain.

NOTE ON THE AUTHOR

Nigel Yates was archivist to the city and diocese of Portsmouth from 1975 until 1980, when he was appointed to succeed Dr Felix Hull as County Archivist of Kent. He has published a large number of articles and monographs on various aspects of ecclesiastical history, including 'Ritual Conflict at Farlington and Wymering' in the *Portsmouth Papers* series, and is a specialist on the history of the Church of England in the nineteenth century. He has been the review editor of the regional journal *Southern History* since 1978.

REFERENCES

[1] A. F. Winnington-Ingram, *Work in Great Cities*, London 1896, p. 22.

[2] K. S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England*, London 1963.

[3] W. O. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 2 vols., London 1966–70; D. Bowen, *The Idea of the Victorian Church*, London 1968; A. D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England*, London 1976, especially pp. 23–48, 125–43.

[4] W. N. Yates, 'Victorian Church Attendance: The Local Evidence', in *Hampshire Studies: Essays Presented to Dorothy Dymond*, Portsmouth 1981, pp. 225–40; and, for comparison with other large towns, W. N. Yates, 'Urban Church Attendance and the Use of Statistical Evidence, 1850–1900', *Studies in Church History*, xvi (1979), pp. 389–400.

[5] R. Hubbuck, *Portsea Island Churches* (Portsmouth Paper 8, 1969) gives details of the establishment of most churches in Portsmouth.

[6] For all that follows see the correspondence between Wigram and Stewart and related papers in Portsmouth City Records Office, CHU 3/10/106, and J. C. Wigram, *Letter on the Spiritual Necessities of Portsea*, London 1851, original copy in the Cope Collection, Southampton University Library, photocopy in Portsmouth City Records Office, 800A/2.

[7] On Owen see R. C. Riley, *Growth of Southsea* (Portsmouth Paper 16, 1972) and *Houses and Inhabitants of Owen's Southsea* (Portsmouth Paper 32, 1980).

[8] See W. N. Yates, 'The Religious Life of Victorian Leeds' in *A History of Modern Leeds*, ed. D. Fraser, Manchester 1980, pp. 250–69.

[9] For this correspondence see records at Church Commissioners, Millbank, London, File no. 27823.

[10] J. G. F. H. Knapp, *The Church in the Circus*, London 1858.

[11] *Circus Church Diamond Jubilee*, Portsmouth 1924.

[12] Newscuttings book containing obituaries of the Revd. B. D. Aldwell from local and church newspapers, in Portsmouth City Records Office, CHU 16/4/7.

[13] St. Simon's parish magazines 1875–97, incomplete, in Portsmouth City Records Office, CHU 50/2E/1–4 and CHU 50/3/19–27.

[14] On Victorian revivalism generally see J. H. Kent, *Holding the Fort*, London 1978; an older book, still of value, is G. R. Balleine, *History of the Evangelical Party*, London 1909; see also I. Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, London 1976.

[15] St. John's parish magazines, 1872–80, complete in one bound volume, in Portsmouth City Records Office, CHU 5/2/3.

[16] *Hampshire Telegraph*, 26 February 1881.

[17] Correspondence in Portsmouth City Records Office, CHU 1/1E/13.

[18] *Hampshire Telegraph*, 9 and 16 September 1868, 10 February 1894; Knapp correspondence, letter dated 9 May 1874, in Portsmouth City Records Office, 879A; I owe this last reference to Mrs. Thelma Merewood who calendared the correspondence.

[19] *Portsmouth Times*, 21 December 1881.

[20] *Hampshire Telegraph*, 4 June 1881.

[21] See W. N. Yates, 'Leeds and the Oxford Movement', *Thoresby Society Publications*, lv (1975), pp. 32–8.

[22] *Hampshire Telegraph*, 3 January 1866 and 31 March 1869.

[23] For the essential background see E. R. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England*, London 1968; P. T. Marsh, *The Victorian Church in Decline*, London 1969, especially pp. 111–241; J. F. Bentley, *Ritualism and Politics in Victorian Britain*, London 1978. For a contemporary attack on ritualism see W. Walsh, *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, London 1897, and for later Anglo–Catholicism see A. Hughes, *The Rivers of the Flood*, London 1961.

[24] *Mission of the Good Shepherd*, Portsea 1871, original in the Cope Collection, Southampton University Library, photocopy in Portsmouth City Records Office, 800A/2.

[25] *Hampshire Telegraph*, 1 and 4 November 1871.

[26] *Ibid.*, 1 July 1882 and 15 October 1892. There are 27 volumes of Shutte's sermon notes, covering the period 1869–90 in Portsmouth City Records Office, CHU 7/4/14–40.

[27] The most significant are R. R. Dolling, *Ten Years in A Portsmouth Slum*, London 1896, and C. E. Osborne, *Life of Father Dolling*, London 1903; G. K. A. Bell, *Randall Davidson*, Oxford 1935, i, pp. 263–80, tries to look at events from the perspective of episcopal authority. P. W. Galliver, 'The Christian Clergyman's Place in Politics', unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Lancaster 1977, has attempted an interesting, though not very profound, re-appraisal of certain aspects of Dolling's ministry. The theories about the Anglo–Catholism of Dolling, Lowder and Stanton propounded in D. Voll, *Catholic Evangelicalism*, London 1963, have been perceptively criticised by Professor Kent in the study cited in footnote 14 above; Kent considers that there was little connection between Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical revivalism. See also L. E. Ellsworth, *Charles Lowder and Anglican Ritualism*, London 1982.

[28] *Hampshire Telegraph*, 10 March, 28 April and 12 May 1883; annual reports of Winchester College Mission, 1883–4, in Portsmouth City Records Office, CHU 10/3A/1–2.

[29] R. R. Dolling, *op. cit.*, pp. 95–6.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 137–8.

[31] W. N. Yates, 'The Only True Friend: Ritualist Concepts of Priestly Vocation', *Studies in Church History*, xv (1978), pp. 407–15.

[32] W. Walsh, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–146.

[33] W. N. Yates, *The Oxford Movement and Parish Life: St. Saviour's, Leeds, 1839–1929* (Borthwick Paper 48, York 1975), pp. 12–14.

[34] *Hampshire Telegraph*, 14 and 21 December 1895.

[35] *Ibid.*, 15 February 1896.

[36] The magazines and correspondence are both in Portsmouth City Records Office, CHU 33/2/1–38 and CHU 1/1E/20. A detailed study of Cornford's ministry at St. Matthew's will appear in W. N. Yates, *Holy Spirit, Southsea: A Parish History*, scheduled for publication in 1982–3.

[37] *The Monitor*, 12 July 1879.

[38] 'The Diary of a Southsea Tradesman', ed. S. E. Peacock, *Portsmouth Archives Review*, i (1976), p.52.

[39] J. Lush, *The Cross and Super-Altar at St. Jude's, Southsea*, 1884, original copy in the Cope Collection, Southampton University Library, photocopy in Portsmouth City Records Office, 800A/2.

[40] *Hampshire Telegraph*, 16 January 1878.

[41] *Portsea Parish Church, Mission Fund Appeal*, 1880, original copy in the Cope Collection, Southampton University Library, photocopy in Portsmouth City Records Office, 800A/1. See also M. J. Sparrow, *One Hundred Not Out*, Portsmouth 1979, pp. 4–24. The parish records of St. Mary's and its mission churches are remarkably good, with a fine set of parish magazines beginning in 1891. The records are held in Portsmouth City Records Office (CHU 3) where there is a detailed list available.

[42] *Portsea Parish Church, Parochial Report for 1880 and Pastoral Letter, 1881*, original copy in the Cope Collection, Southampton University Library, photocopy in Portsmouth City Records Office, 800A/1.

[43] It is described in great detail in *The Work of A Great Parish*, ed. C. F. Garbett, London 1915; see also the article on Portsea by Garbett in *Bernard Robert Wilson: A Memoir*, Portsmouth and London 1910, pp. 51–68; J. G. Lockhart, *Cosmo Gordon Lang*, London 1949, pp. 116–28; C. Smyth, *Cyril Foster Garbett*, London 1959, pp. 61–141.

[44] *Report of the Commissioners appointed . . . to inquire into the Spiritual Condition and Parochial Needs of the Borough of Portsmouth*, 1880. Copy in Portsmouth City Records Office, CHU 1/2G. This file also contains papers relating to the establishment and administration of the Six Churches Fund.

[45] N. S. Godfrey, *Report of Parish of St. Bartholomew, Southsea*, 1881, original copy in the Cope Collection, Southampton University Library, photocopy in Portsmouth City Records Office, 800A/2.

[46] *Hampshire Telegraph*, 21, 25 and 28 August and 4 September 1869.

[47] *Ibid.*, 25 December 1875; 1, 8, 15 and 22 January 1876; 25 August 1877.

[48] Quoted in *ibid.*, 21 September 1889.

[49] *Pleasure Guide for Portsmouth and Southsea*, 1893, p.137.

[50] *Southsea and Portsmouth Coronation Souvenir Guide*, 1911, pp. 132–43; *Ritualistic Clergy List*, London 1903.

[51] *Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*, London 1906, minutes of evidence 384–91 and 6029–32.

[52] Service registers in Portsmouth City Records Office. Those of St. Simon's, Southsea, are the earliest surviving and are complete from 1866 to 1898, and then from 1902. The service registers of St. Luke, Southsea, begin in 1878; those of St. Mary, Portsea, in 1880; those of St. Peter, Southsea, in 1893; and those of St. Matthew, Southsea, in 1894. There is a record of communicants and offertories at St. Jude's, Southsea, from 1853.

CITY OF PORTSMOUTH PUBLICATIONS

The Portsmouth Papers—Titles available

1. *Portchester* by Professor Barry Cuncliffe, 1967 (Illus.) *Reprinted* 1970.
2. *History of the Police of Portsmouth* by James Cramer, 1967 (Illus.).
3. *'Palmerston's Folly': The Portsdown and Spithead Forts* by Professor A. Temple Patterson, 1968 (Illus.) *Reprinted* 1970, 1974, and 1980.
4. *The Organs and Organists of the Cathedral Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury at Portsmouth* by Philip Barrett, 1968 (Illus.) *Revised* 1975.
5. *The Naval Mutiny at Spithead 1797* by Professor A. Temple Patterson, 1968 (Illus.) *Reprinted* 1978.
6. *Portsmouth Railways* by Edwin Course, BSc (Econ), PhD, FCIT, 1969 (Illus.) *Reprinted* 1972.
7. *The Siege of Portsmouth in the Civil War* by John Webb, MA, FRHists, 1969 (Illus.) *Revised* 1977.
8. *Portsea Island Churches* by Rodney Hubbuck, 1969 (Illus.) *Revised* 1976.
9. *Portsmouth during the Great French Wars 1770–1800* by Alastair Geddes, 1970 (Illus.) *Reprinted* 1980.
10. *Portsmouth – A French Gibraltar?* by Professor A. Temple Patterson, 1970 (Illus.).
11. *Portsmouth and the Fall of the Puritan Republic* by Dr. D. Dymond, CBE, MA, 1971 (Illus.) *Reprinted* 1979.
12. *Portsmouth's Water Supply 1800–1860* by Mary Hallett, BSc (Econ), MPhil. 1971 (Illus.).
13. *A History of Portsmouth Theatres* by H. Sargeant, FLA, 1971 (Illus.) *Reprinted* 1979.
14. *Portsmouth Nineteenth-Century Literary Figures* by Professor A. Temple Patterson, 1972 (Illus.).
15. *Portsmouth – As others have seen it (Part 1 1540–1790)* by Margaret J. Hoad, MA, 1972 (Illus.).
16. *The Growth of Southsea as a Naval Satellite and Victorian Resort* by R. C. Riley, BSc (ECON) PhD 1972 (Illus.).
17. *Captain John Mason and the Duke of Buckingham* by Dr. D. Dymond, CBE, MA, 1972 (Illus.).
18. *Methodism in Portsmouth 1750–1932* by W. Donald Cooper, BA, 1973 (Illus.).
19. *Portsmouth and the Crimean War* by Margaret J. Hoad, MA and Professor A. Temple Patterson, 1973 (Illus.).
20. *Portsmouth – As others have seen it (Part II 1790–1900)* by Margaret J. Hoad, MA, 1973 (Illus.).
21. *The condition of the children of the poor in mid-Victorian Portsmouth* by Mrs. Jean Stanford and Professor A. Temple Patterson, 1974 (Illus.).
22. *Smugglers and Revenue Officers in the Portsmouth area in the Eighteenth Century* by Edward Carson, MA, FIL, 1974 (Illus.).
23. *Borough Government in Portsmouth, 1835–1974* by Sarah E. Peacock, BA, 1975 (Illus.).
24. *Portsmouth's Political Patterns 1885–1945* by G. J. Ashworth, BA, MPhil, PhD, 1976 (Illus.).
25. *The Industries of Portsmouth in the Nineteenth Century* by R. C. Riley, BSc, (Econ), PhD. 1976 (Illus.).
26. *An Early Victorian Street – The High Street Old Portsmouth,* by John Webb, MA, FRHists, 1977 (Illus.).
27. *The Windows of Portsmouth Cathedral* by E. K. Barnard, 1977 (Illus.).
28. *Ritual Conflict at Farlington and Wymering* by Nigel Yates, MA, FRHists, 1978 (Illus.).
29. *The Common Lands of Portsea Island* by John Chapman, MA, PhD,1979 (Illus.).
30. *The Western Defence of Portsmouth Harbour 1400–1800* by G. H. Williams, CBE, MA, 1979 (Illus.).
31. *Early Man in Portsmouth and South-East Hampshire* by David J. Rudkin, BA, AMA, 1980 (Illus.).
32. *The Houses and Inhabitants of Thomas Ellis Owen's Southsea* by R. C. Riley, BSc, (Econ), PhD, 1980 (Illus.).
33. *Portsmouth Borough Goal in the Nineteenth Century* by Pat Thompson, 1980 (Illus.).
34. *The Battle of Southsea* by Dr. J. L. Field, 1981 (Illus.).
35. *Portsmouth Free Mart Fair – The Last Phase 1800–1847* by John Webb, MA, FRHists, 1982 (Illus.).
36. *Horsea Island and the Royal Navy* by Basil Ripley, BEM, ISM, 1982 (Illus.).
37. *The Anglican Revival in Victorian Portsmouth* by Nigel Yates, MA, FRHists, 1983 (Illus.).

Portsmouth Record Series

Borough Sessions Papers 1653–1688 by Arthur J. Willis and Margaret J. Hoad. MA, 1971 (Illus.).

Portsmouth and Sheet Turnpike Commissioners' Minute Book 1711–1754 edited by W. Albert and P. D. A. Harvey, 1974 (Illus.).

Book of Original Entries 1731–1751 edited by N. W. Surry and J. H. Thomas, 1976 (Illus.).

Maps of Portsmouth before 1801 compiled by D. Hodson, 1978 (Illus.).

Other publications available

Fortifications in Old Portsmouth by A. Corney, 1965 (Illus.).

Southsea Castle by A. Corney, 1967 (Illus.).

The Civic Plate and Insignia of the City of Portsmouth (reprinted from the Connoisseur) by Sir C. Oman, 1965.

Guide to Historic Portsmouth (in colour).

Records of the City of Portsmouth 1835–1935 (Bound and Illus.) in three volumes, *1936–55* (Bound and Illus.) in two volumes.

Buildings of Portsmouth and its Environs by D. Lloyd, 1974 (Bound and well illustrated).

Hampshire Studies Edited by John Webb, Nigel Yates and Sarah Peacock, 1981 (Illus.).

Copies of these publications are obtainable from the City Secretary and Solicitor, Civic Offices, Guildhall Square, Portsmouth PO1 2AL and the Central Library and Museums.